h:McIlwraith B-5 (1922-1924) 1948
MSS McIlwraith MSS

others. This differentiated them clearly from all neighbouring tribes.

B. Ceremonies. A member of a secret society in any of the above towns was accepted as a member in any other one. A person of another tribe, even if known to belong to a comparable society, was treated as an uninitiated person.

C. Origin and Relations. The people of Bella Coola, Tallio, and Kimsquit felt themselves to be akin through acceptance of the fact that their ancestors had been created together in the beginning of time. This marked them off with great clearness from all other tribes, especially from the Carriers of the interior. This belief formed a sentimental and religious bond of great strength.

Neighbouring Tribes

It is desirable to describe, briefly, the tribes with which the Bella Coola came in contact.

The Carriers

East of Bella Coola, amid the mountains of the interior, roved the Carriers. In summer they often came down to the river valley to fish or trade for salmon, and in winter they were sometimes forced by cold and starvation again to visit the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, or Rivers Inlet people. There was a good deal of intermarriage between them and the inhabitants of the upper valley, so that the wanderers were able to spend the cold months with relatives. None the less, the Bella Coola considered these people utterly foreign in habits and beliefs, and to call a man a "Carrier" was, and still is, a deadly insult. The Carriers lacked the rich ceremonial life of the coastal peoples who, therefore, regarded them with scorn and contempt. The presence of a few of the much-despised Carriers was, however, almost necessary to the correct performance of the winter dances since they were uninitiated spectators whom it was necessary to impress and delude.

The *ebi* returns to the house and tells the guests that Mabibbi has indeed been sent and has promised to return later on. Those who are not sound, being cowed in the belief concerning the omnipresence of supernatural beings and ignorant of the carefully concealed whistles, readily credit the tale that they have heard the voice of a denizen of the land above, whose language is intelligible to the *ebi*. Thus is the supernatural element of the potlatch first called forth.

After a final distribution of food, the guests return to their homes.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF FOOD AMONGST

As a potlatch valuable presents are given to the foreign guests, but it is undebatable for the donor to give to his fellow-villagers. Accordingly, if X desires to display his generosity towards them, he does so at a preliminary ceremony, when he begins the initiation, or re-initiation, into the sound society of any number of young people. After discovery counting and re-counting of his goods, both those actually stored in his house and those promised,* X decides that he has sufficient to initiate, for example, seven neophytes. His first choice will be his own children, failing them, the sons and daughters of a brother or sister, or of his wife's relations, or, if none of these are available, those of a friend. X does not gain any pecuniary advantage from such a transaction, in fact he loses, but the prestige so reached outweighs this consideration.

"Is it not the privilege of a chief to be generous?" say the Bella Coola.

The opposition, the parents of those whom he has selected, always members of old-established families. As it is to the social advantage of a young person to be a sound, a father usually calls X a sound name, foreseen in his family, which he wishes to have conferred on his son, and how much he is willing to contribute for the purpose. In many cases, a man will

* The sons of the men concerned, sometimes are forgotten, giving rise to heated harangues from friends to make up the necessary amount.

UBC Anthropology B-5 (1950-1954)/1968
UBC Anthropology 1954
Bulletin. UBC

Other people had come down to earth at the same time as Gixsto'q, and among them a man and his wife who had landed at the mouth of Cox Bay. They had two daughters who, walking one day at the head of the bay, were surprised to find a house. They looked in and saw a woman, so covered and laughed heartily to find her made of cotton wool. They looked over the figure and the head fell into the fire and was burnt. Then they seated themselves in her place, worked diligently at the blanket and ate a large amount of the food. Towards dusk they put the figure back in place and hid themselves.

Soon Gixsto q returned. He embraced the figure, called her a good wife, and thanked her for weaving so diligently and for having eaten so much of the food. Then he saw that the head burnt her head, and chided her, saying that she must take better care of herself. By this the two girls who were hiding burst out laughing and showed themselves. They suggested to Gixsto q that he choose one of them for his wife. He agreed, selected the elder and married her. He built a house on a hilltop where they lived and to which he called people from the sea and over which he gave a potlatch.

Kwakiutl Origins Stories

As already stated, many Kwakiutl names are believed to have come down from above with the first Bella Coola, or to have been created by them on this earth. In such cases, the Kwakiutl origin myth is the same as the preceding myth. Theoretically, names of the same type can also be received through visions in which a beholder is given his new designation by some supernatural being, or taken from the apparition. In either case, of course, it must be duly validated by the giving of presents. Only three myths were discovered which deal solely with the acquisition of a Kwakiutl prerogative. We doubt this is chiefly [illegible] because these have been Kwakiutl stories [illegible] been derived from the Bella Bella.

THE ORIGIN OF THE *Kwaxsistalanux*[1]

Many days, a party of *Kwaxsistalanux*[2] spent the winter in Bella Coola. Early in the spring one of them broke his leg on

[1] Referred to Indian throughout.

[2] It was impossible to identify this tribe. According to the Bella Coola they are akin to the Comox, but have adopted the use of cross-poles, house-shields

that he was unable to return home. A young Bulu Ceula woman charitably took the injured man into her house, but though she tended him with care, the injury did not heal properly, and he was crippled for life. He used to work around the house at light chores, but was unable to perform any hard work, and was virtually adopted into the family, though, lacking land in Bulu Ceula, he could never acquire any real status there. After remaining for more than five years the cripple became ill, and realized that he was about to die. In gratitude to the woman who had sheltered him, he asked her to use his small canoe, *djanjawad mpalimen*, for one of her children, if she ever had any. Soon afterwards, the stranger died. The woman's family paid for his burial, and it was recognized that the canoe, with such scratched, belonged to them. In later years it was duly validated with presents at a potlatch, for the benefit of her son from whom this account was obtained.

The myth is as follows:

Long, long ago, a number of the men of Atsik were playing on the shore of Nose Lake, not far from a village. One of them, happening to look upwards, was surprised to see drifting down from a great height a canoe, one of the long bamboo which grow on the upper leg of an eagle. This idly wondered who would get it, and passed idle together, ready to struggle, for the prize, but it drifted their outstretched hands, and fell on the head of one of the boys. There, to the amazement of all, he was lifted from the ground, as if the bamboo had been a magnet drawing the dust. One of his friends seized his ankle and tried to pull him down, but in vain; moreover, he found that he could not release his grasp. A third had grasped the feet of the would-be rescuer, but he, too, was lifted from the ground. One after another tried to pull down the friends, but were unable to do, until finally the last one were drawn aloft by the bamboo, each holding the legs of the one above him. Nothing was ever heard of their fate.

A few years later the father of the boy on whom the bamboo had fallen gave a potlatch, at which he used this event as a valid claim for one of his surviving children. A small representing the one was used in the belief that the supernatural being above would have caused such an event, and the event commenced through communings with the unseen people of the Nose River. That town is said to be in the north of Nose Lake, but, as no Bulu Ceula has visited them, their situation can be placed at the extremity

Commonwealth E-9 (1922-1924)948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

body became eagle down and was wafted upwards is psychological of the type which might serve as basis for a rite of this kind. If the descendants of the person to whom this had happened had dramatized the incident at subsequent deaths, a custom analogous to the one here described would have arisen.

DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

There is no fixed time for the disposal of a corpse. When possible it takes place on the day following death, but as many as four days may elapse if delay is necessary for the performance of the rite just described. Another reason for postponement is the absence of near relatives; if they can be summoned within four or five days, the funeral may be delayed until their arrival. There is always endless discussion concerning the exact details; all relatives and members of the deceased family take part, though the wishes of a son, brother, or other near kinsman are usually followed. In this, as in so many points of Bella Coola ritual, an influential chief often reverses the desires even of those who are more closely related to the deceased.

Shields announce the hour chosen,[1] usually about noon, and the people begin to assemble in the deceased's house, even strangers being welcome. Women wail dolorously, and another indication of the occasion is the bundles containing clothing, cooking utensils, and other articles belonging to the dead person. The lid of the coffin has been left open, but when everything is ready, an elderly man is asked to strike it, once, with a cane; then the lid is closed. Planks have been removed until a side made in one of the front corners of the house, through which the men thrown out the stone. The women redouble their lamentations as an old woman, previously asked to do so, lights a bundle of dyed and undyed cedar-bark and rides through the opening carrying this. No request has been made for pall-bearers, but any strong men, especially

[1] This done at present, even after the carrying away of the "body." In former times it was omitted when the corpse was secretly buried by the canoe.

McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

211 stone and served as landing-place for some of the first settlers.
556 In fact, any of the dead person's crests may be used according
764 to the wishes of the chief giving the memorial potlatch. A
769 figure displayed in this way cannot be used as the guise in which the dead relative returns, but as every individual has several crests, inability to use one does not make it difficult to carry out the rite. According to one well-informed old man, when a design has once been used in a cemetery it cannot again be shown by members of the ancestral family, having itself become "dead." Other informants flatly contradicted this statement, and it seems clear that the above is true only with regard to the use of the figure in connection with the return of the deceased. The erection of the figure serves to remind all beholders, especially foreign guests summoned to the memorial potlatch, of the ancestral myth of the deceased. It is, therefore, equivalent to a totem-pole erected during a man's lifetime, in fact, one of these is sometimes moved to the cemetery to serve as a memorial-post (see Plate 11). Instead of placing a representation of the crest in the cemetery, one is sometimes painted on broad boards and placed on some conspicuous promontory where all who pass by will see it and think of the person commemorated.

[718]

The second type of memorial consists of plain poles set upright in the cemetery, one for each major ceremony given by the deceased. Potlatches, memorial potlatches, and *kukwisteal* (II, p. 19) are alone indicated in this way, these being the only ones to which foreign guests are invited. These poles suggest, in a general way, the greatness of the deceased.

[609]

The third type of memorial-post comprises representations of the goods given away by the deceased. These are usually painted on boards attached to a post set up near the grave. On this are pictures of canoes, slippers, sleeves, and other valuables distributed at potlatches or memorial potlatches (see Plate 12). Alternatively, there may be a series of small poles, each surmounted by a model canoe manned by miniature human figures, symbolic of a canoe and slaves given away

[532]

Library of Congress
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

(see Plate 23). So, too, wooden representations of coppers are often affixed to an upright post. Not only men are commemorated in this way, a father often places over his daughter's grave pictures of the goods used to rebuy her from her husband; wooden plaques representing coppers are commonly used for this purpose.[1] Such symbols are usually cut down after a year owing to a vague feeling that it is not proper for them to remain standing too long. The function of this type of memorial is to mark the social status of the dead person, judged by the riches given away by him, or on his behalf, during his life-time. With the introduction of writing, the Bella Coola have been quick to recognize it as an easy means for recording the wealth distributed by a chief. In consequence, signs are often painted and erected, giving in figures a statement of his financial transactions. Another recent introduction has been the tombstone. One of these is often set up with the name of the deceased carved on it to perpetuate his memory, and a representation of his crest to record his ancestral history. Such a memorial combines the functions of the first and third types.

As the carpenters labour at the memorials, other arrangements for the ceremony proceed apace. As at a potlatch, the fellow-villagers of the donor may be invited repeatedly to his house for the performance of ritual dances, but this feature is often omitted, especially if there are no neophytes to be initiated. The mask to be worn by the deceased relative must be prepared in secret; or if several are to be commemorated at the single ceremony, one must be made ready for each. As the time draws near, envoys are dispatched to invite foreign guests if it has been decided to have strangers present. This has been customary for many years, but during the period when no features of the potlatch were allowed at a memorial potlatch, the latter was sometimes carried out in the presence of the donor's fellow-villagers alone. The actual departure of the

[1] The National Museum of Canada, at Ottawa, has specimens of these wooden objects.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

537 viated by the presence of welcome guests. Mention is fre-
& 536 quently made of the journey taken by the dead man to the
769 scenes of his ancestral myths. In addition to being an orator,
[622] the speaker must also be a *nemit* chief, since it is felt that
none other can have the necessary assurance and poise to refer
to these most sacred and important subjects. During the
speech, assistants blow eagle down over the heads of all
present.

Food has been prepared in advance, and as soon as the
speaker has finished, the heralds call the guests to partake of
it. The first course is then distributed, smoked salmon mixed
[624] with olachen grease. Speeches are sometimes delivered during
this part of the meal, as well as at the second course, cranberries
with more olachen grease. If the guests have arrived during
the afternoon, there is no delay between the feast and the ritual
that follows, but if they have come during the morning, there
is a gap until the evening. Visitors usually time their arrival
for the early part of the afternoon.

537 The next event is a speech from one of the foreign chiefs,
& 536 phrased in grandiloquent terms similar to those used by the
769 Bella Coola orator. He speaks of the manner in which the
● 609 supernatural Carpenters have burned the deceased, but reminds
533 his hearers that this is because *Alpaxnim* has decreed it, there-
fore all must be for the best. He refers to the dead man's estate,
and to the manner in which this gains will be available to him.
During the day, the singers have been careful to learn the tune
of a mourning song used by the ancestral family of each foreign
chief likely to speak. This they now beat out, often assisted
by some of the guests, and always accompanied by their sing-
ing. No one dances to accompany the song; it is merely a
ceremonial mark of sympathy, implying that the speaker himself
knows the grief occasioned by death, and, also, that he too is
sufficiently important to be able to use a mourning song. If,
as is usually the case, there is more than one influential chief
in the party, a second rises to speak, repeating in different
terms the sentiments expressed by his predecessor. Another

1:McIlwraith E-5 [1922-1924]1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

mourning song is sung for him in the same way. Sometimes as many as five or six speeches are made, each followed by a song of the same type. In such circumstances it is impossible for the Bella Coola musicians to learn all the tunes, but if five or six chiefs are present, it implies the presence of a large delegation among whom are always a number of singers. It is they who really beat out the tunes, assisted by their Bella Coola confrères. When the last song has been sung, the guests present their hosts with gifts brought for the purpose. The donor himself receives the most valuable, but all the Bella Coola are remembered, chiefs to a greater extent than commoners. Such gifts are not to be returned; in fact, to do so specifically, especially soon after the receipt, would be insulting. After the distribution the evening concludes with the usual meal.

This ritual is repeated at the arrival of every group of guests. It is uncertain whether or not all the mourning songs are again beaten out after the song of the final speaker of the last group. This seems to have been done occasionally, and the distribution of presents by the guests likewise postponed. Just before the gathering breaks up, the hostess call out: "*Ihuitsmtsmaqa.*"

This serves as intimation that the Bella Coola rites will take place the following morning, and the guests prepare accordingly. Occasionally, when a man is poor, a memorial potlatch is held without the presence of foreign guests.* In such cases the preliminaries just described are, of course, omitted and the above call marks the commencement of the ceremony.

The next day the guests gather in the donor's house, clad in their best. The mourners are in attendance, each conspicuous with the proper mark. In many cases several of them carry miniature totem-poles, carved to represent bird or animal chiefs assumed by the donor's ancestors, and which

*This was probably quite common during the period when all potlatch features were omitted.

Jacobsen Expedition E-9 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

entered through their mother. After a little further discussion, Harry took the rattle from his brother and began to sing as he walked around the hall, followed by Alexander and Nebuchadnezzar. Harry was less familiar than his brother with the proper words, but supplied this deficiency by humming. He was also less at ease, and he lacked the musical ability which had made his brother's singing so impressive. After a single circuit, he returned the rattle to Reuben, who continued to go around the hall as he sang. This time he paused at intervals, and kept glancing towards the door, his whole attitude betraying that something was interfering with the previously arranged plans. The purpose of the singing was to summon the dead woman in the form of her crest, but she did not appear. In early times those who were not *nusk* were told that the words and music penetrated to the upper regions, reminding the deceased of the grief of his relatives and persuading him to return. This belief had passed away at the time of the ceremony here described, but the fiction was continued, and it had been planned that the representation of the deceased should occur when the song was finished. It later transpired that the delay was due to a number of white people who, having gathered at the doorway, made the performer unwilling to put on his masks and disguise. Reuben continued to sing half-heartedly, and finally cried out:

"Perhaps I have lost my power, it does not come."

Alec Davis, who had previously left the hall, came rushing in and called out in a loud voice:

"[Komaila Jessie's ancestral crest and the one in connection with which she had been made a chief] is coming. She has been to the source of her ancestral myths. Her crests have taken her. She comes as Eagle, Raven, and Blackfish, bearing her grandchild."[a]

The speaker is a nervous, rather surly individual, usually undignified and often drunk, but on this occasion his manner had changed in a remarkable degree. His eyes were bright, his

[a] Although she was not dead, all hope had been abandoned for the child's recovery.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

969 these various amounts making $864 when added to the previous $410."

* 556 It was first decided to give a present to everyone as "Eagle Down Shaken Off by the Dead Woman." Captain Schooner and his assistants thought first of the bottom house in the village, remembered who lived in it, then, after a little more discussion, agreed upon the amount each should receive. This was whispered to Nebuchadnezzar, who held up a bill and called out, for example:

"$10 for so-and-so."

A number of young men had volunteered as messengers and one of them took the money to the designated recipient. After giving to all in the bottom house, they passed to the next above it, and so in succession for the whole village. Absentees were remembered and their presents received by friends or relatives. *Kaziut* names were used because Nebuchadnezzar was unfamiliar with the little-used ancestral designations. Contrary to ancient usage, the amounts varied; some chiefs received as much as $20, a child, $1, or 50 cents. Each recipient accepted his gift without showing whether it was more or less than he had expected. There was not sufficient change, so that five persons were often named together and a $5 bill given to the first mentioned for sharing with the other four, a transaction always carried out honestly. Many of the Carriers were strangers, so they could not be rewarded in accordance with their rank, but $30 was given to one of their chiefs to share as he thought fit.

465 969 $556 964 Not all the money was distributed in this way. Payments had to be made to those who had assisted at the funeral. Gifts were bestowed upon the women who had washed and dressed the corpse; to the men who had helped to make the coffin; to the canoe-men who had brought the body to Bella Coola; to the pall-bearers; to the grave-diggers; to the woman who had carried the fire; to the singers, especially to those who had

[609]

[illegible] Samuel King and George Nelson could not be found.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

not considered necessary. With few exceptions, hereafter to be noted, *hasiut* masks are burnt at the conclusion of each ceremony, a practice which probably originated in order to avoid the possibility of their being seen by the uninitiated. The Bella Coola state that this is one of the most striking differences between their rites and those of the Bella Bella.

Next in importance to masks are whistles (see Plate 1).[1] The large, cone-shaped form used in *nusuk* ceremonial is replaced in *hasiut* dances by a smaller type consisting of portions of wood glued together, which can be blown with ease from beneath a concealing blanket. Another type has bellows consisting of a mountain goat bladder, which is held beneath the arm-pit so that it can be worked invisibly. During the summer the whistles are kept by one individual, usually a marshal. Specific information concerning the ownership of these whistles could not be obtained; it appears that any *hasiut* can make one, or have one made for him by a skilled carpenter, and that their retention by one person during the summer is merely for convenience. They are freely lent to anyone for use in a ceremony.

In some dances special objects are used in connection with dramatic performances, such as bull-roarers, wooden representations of animals, birds, or miniature human beings. One old man described a pipe formerly used at *Tā'ēn*, which had a carved bowl as large as a tea-cup with three radiating stems. It was carved from a knotty excrescence on a bunch hole. Little could be learnt of its history, except that it was supposed to have been carved by a chief with the design of his person and displayed through pride.

The usual guests at a performance of the type just summarized are the dancer's fellow-villagers and any strangers who happen to be present in the town. Great as is the desire of the *hahaiaie* to impress their uninitiated relatives, they are still more eager to impress strangers, hence the presence of Carriers adds piquancy to the rites. The writer believes that his presence and interest encouraged the Bella Coola to

[1 Doc. reference 116, p 84(B). Analyst]

2; McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

perform several ancient rites through a desire to "show off" before someone who was ignorant. In recent years there has been a tendency to concentrate on *haxiat* ceremonials, and to judge a man's worth by his lavishness in them, but this is only a modern development due to the prohibition of the potlatch. Nevertheless, even in former times some individuals preferred to invite foreign guests to *haxiat* dances and to give them valuable gifts rather than to save these for potlatches; such a ceremony is called a *kakaciaiad*. Whenever strangers are present at a *haxiat* dance they receive small pieces of dyed cedar-bark as proof of the friendly intentions of the host. The general consensus of Bella Coola opinion is that it is foolish for a man to concentrate on *haxiat* performances, particularly if he impoverish himself to the detriment of potlatches.

Although foreign guests are seldom invited to *haxiat* rites, a dancer frequently calls in his fellows from adjacent villages. But as the ceremonial season is simultaneous in the different settlements, with almost eighty performances, it is often impossible to avoid conflict in dates. Which invitation shall have preference is decided in the following manner:

During the days of *qulaw* and *nakwaw* the dancer sends a herald of powerful physique to invite guests from as many villages as he wishes. Simultaneously, a messenger may be approaching from the opposite direction with a similar invitation. Each envoy watches carefully around each bend in the path for his rival, and whichever can first call out his message is entitled to continue to give his invitation to the village of the unarrived herald. It is considered exceedingly bad taste to decline a summons, so the ceremony to which the delayed herald was bearing an invitation must be postponed. Sometimes the two messengers sight one another simultaneously, and the relative priority of their messages is then decided by a contest of strength. The rivals stand in the path, shoulder to shoulder, arms close to their sides, and shove with all their strength, the winner being the one who can force his opponent to move his feet. This last means of deciding is used exclu-

J:Mc:Dowell E-9 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[The Cannibal Dance]

forth, followed by a number of *hahaiai* who remain constantly in attendance on him.

X enters the lowest house and sits down near the door, too heavy, with the weight of the crystals, to proceed further. He growls persistently, while the *hahaiai* women present drone monotonously, and those who have accompanied him utter their cry of *hoip*. These measures at last persuade the Cannibal to move, but only to the next house, where the same procedure is repeated, and so for each in the village. The uninitiated peer curiously and fearfully from their bedrooms, but would never dream of joining in the cry of *hoip*. If X should be asleep or otherwise engaged when the voices are heard, some of his ministers awaken him and send him forth. The arrival of strangers also excites X. One of his followers tells him of their coming and when a canoe reaches the river, he runs down into the water and bites as many of the newcomers as he desires. The herald, watching the approach of the strangers and knowing what will happen, cries out to the uninitiated to conceal themselves prior to X's appearance. The guests proceed to the dwelling of their host, but they evening the Cannibal's father, or whoever acts for him, calls them to his house where he gives them presents to validate the biting. If foreigners have been expected, gifts are always saved for them from the previous distribution. The value of the present depends in part on the rank of the recipient, but more upon the feeling of like or dislike with which X's father regards him. A chief naturally receives more than a person of lower rank, although these distinctions are not universal.

On the morning of the fifth day of X's retirement, some of the *hahaiai* collect chamber-pots and vessels near by to be immersed in the river in the manner previously described. Then he goes through the village four times, on each round visiting every house. The uninitiated are told that the washing has caused his call to depart, and the whistle is heard no more.*

Towards dusk all the *hahaiai* assemble in X's house. He

*The disposal of the soil on this occasion may not be the correct procedure.

J. McDermott E-1 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

[The Dance of the Supernatural Charms]

ever since. Pay for strangers is not a strong Bella Coola sentiment and the audience laughs heartily at the spectacle of the doddering old man in vain pursuit of a heartless woman who is forever young. A considerable number of *tsâwaxit* always accompany the procession, pushing their way out with *Awi'tlemalem* and *Sîsiyutl*. Several of them carry whistles concealed beneath their arm-pits and the noise of these serves to maintain the dignity of the occasion.

So many masked figures are used that all cannot accompany *Sumaxmaxt* into each house. Those unable to do so remain on the sidewalk outside, holding one of her bears, a live male mountain goat. At the next house another group of the chairman's cousins enters and the ceremonial just described is repeated. The same is carried out at every dwelling in the village. *Sumaxmaxt* and her followers stop a few minutes in X's house before starting out on a second round, in which the same circuit is carried out. This is done twice more, so that each house is visited four times.

By this time dusk has fallen and all the *tsâwaxit* except those acting as escort to X have gathered in his house. Presently the uninitiated are called in. *Sumaxmaxt* is standing on a low box behind the fire, encouraging her masked lovers to come to her, and bestowing her affections indiscriminately in a heartless manner. The rivals shove each other to and fro ruthlessly and though blows are not actually exchanged great care must be taken to prevent masks from falling to the earth unnoticed. The efforts of the unfortunate *Sîsiyutl* to reach his desire are always a source of merriment. *Bella Coola* informants cannot explain the significance of it all. Sometimes a cradle is brought in, over which *Sumaxmaxt* croons while one is sung, describing her as the mother of many children, of whom the fathers are animals. It is uncertain whether the pairs of the ceremony take place before or after the dance fight or, indeed, whether it is not another type of ceremony which I did not see or will. The ritual concludes in the normal way with the expulsion of the uninitiated, the dancing of *Awi'tlemalem*

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

B 583 B *Xaxxtmxqmxx* | *alixulx* | *ckd'alpkalulxl* | *dixmt-mqdjx*
Go within | my house, | I am giving food | to my friends.

[xxxxxxx xxxxxx]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

614 824 485 609

(a) Recorded as song VII D 20b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It is said that this song has been handed down for generations in an ancestral family; they now regard it as a family possession and would consider its use by others to be stealing.

(b) Many years ago a solitary Bella Bella used to paddle to Kimsquit almost every year. He was dressed like a chief and had the voice of one, so that his hosts assumed him to be a person of importance. It was later found that he was a poor man. The receiving of foreigners is a common theme of s'alt songs.

A 583 575 578 *sm'kl's Song Used for Xmoxmkin(x)*

A *Nalmdlxlxxmxqmxlxx* | *dlxmxmxmkkls*
He has fallen so that his buttocks are uppermost, | Hu(h)!

Xmxmxmlxx mxxt | *xlxxlxxlx*
He has come to hurt, | their faces(x).

[xxxxxxx xxxxx]

B and C. The second and third parts have been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 3c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) A seemingly dishonorial salutation used in s'alt songs describing the *hahaiat*.

(c) *Xmxmxmkin* was an s'alt who is said to have seen a Cannibal *hamat'sa* when the latter was supposed to be in the land above. A song was composed about the incident, and the above fragment has been remembered for many years. *Xmxmxmkin* was initiated into the *hamat'sa* society; see vol. II, p. 900.

A 583 575 796 209 As already described, whenever a dancer is performing, the women utter a peculiar high-pitched drone and the hereditr call out remarks suitable to the occasion. A phonograph record* was made of the drone, followed by a cry suitable for either *nusuit* or s'alt dances. The following words are virtually sung:

Tlxlxxlxlxxxx | *xxlxxxqxxlxlx*
Do not see, | clouds.

*Recorded as song VII D 20c, National Museum of Canada.

J: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

*192

Kâlsaxamuxw: The chosen that keeps a foolish man from success as a chief, the concept is semi-anthropomorphized.

Kâsim: Four ceremonial discharges.

Kâsiut: enemy village.

Kâtin: Supernatural creature dwelling in the ocean.

[952] **Kâtsîkâmut**: Shamans who received power from ghosts.

Kaxâmxaitsutsa: Bella Coola hostess.

Kaxpâtsut, "Coyote": Bella Bella designation for the Dean River, whence the anglicized *Kimsquit* has been derived.

*[109] **Kaxtâut**: Dean River.

Kaxtlaut: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

[925] **kaxtc**: 1—Whale.
2—Ancestral name of a Tsi'is woman; this is said to be an exclusively feminine designation.

Kâx'amax: 1—Name acquired by a Bella Bella man in the beginning of time.
2—Influential Kimsquit chief, who died about 1910.

[824] **kâx'ax**: Shadows.

[824] **kâx**: When fit (?).

kaxtc-s: Herring.

kaxtcîut: Prerogative of being consulted.

kaxtc: Dried salmon.

kaxtcîut: Synonym for *skaîlis*: one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of symbolical representations of the deceased. The word is derived from *kaxtc*.

[826] **kaxtcîxtcut**: Porpoise.

[845] **Kaxtcîxtcut**: Supernatural being who behaves in an erratic manner.

ka'ia: Twin whose birth is attributed to salmon.

[824] **Ka'iaxtâlt**: Man mentioned in an ancient story.

kaiakaus: Unidentified berry (strawberry?).

Kaiaus: Supernatural female shaman who guided *W'imaius*.

Kai'aiyaxkuay: Ancient name of a Bella Coola Canadian.

kaiâ'ûmay, "Earthy Dust": Ghosts.

[839] **kaiâkaiay**: Land, region, earth.

kaiâkâ-s: First part of song.

Kaiaxâ': Timeless ancestors about forty miles up the Bella Coola valley.

[825] **Kaiaxtcamâkâits**, "The One Who Makes Us Fat": Supernatural name of salmon salmon.

[945] **kaiaxtcaus**: Goods distributed to relatives songs used at a mourning ceremony when an representation of the deceased has been employed.

[976] **kaiaxtcu**: Lands allotted to foreigners on production concerning their successes or feud.

[681] **kaiâkaiâ-s kaiâkaiâ**: Synonym for *kâlsaxamuxw*, treasure guest?

[426] **Kaiaxtcamâkâmut**: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.

[401] **kaiâ'ai, kaiâtsa, kaiâpai**: Grandfather.

kaiâkaiâ: Easter ceremonial at which foreigners are present.

kaiâs: The construction of salmon weirs.

---

*This was the pronunciation of the word by the individual with an obscure vowel.